

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Póto Indígena Benjamin Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some [62] Mandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by [114] the patron. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Taquapí (Reserva Córro Peó), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Póto Indígena Benjamin Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Fluverá). Some 300 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

[361] Jacaré or Póto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Póto Indígena Benjamin Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igratemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Mandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Igratemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

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648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

PREFACE

THE field work for the present monograph was done by the writer, in the company of his wife and two Brazilian companions, in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, from June to December, 1943. The Cayuá group primarily studied was the *colônia* of Taquapiri. This village is situated only a short distance from the Paraguay frontier, between the Mato Grosso hamlets of União and Nhu Verá (see map). União, the larger, is about twenty miles from Taquapiri and has a population of several hundred people, a platoon of soldiers, four or five small general stores, and the Indian Service post "Benjamin Constant." This post includes the Taquapiri group in its jurisdiction. Nhu Verá, the smaller of the two Brazilian hamlets, is on the Paraguayan frontier itself. There is no church at either place, though there is a Brazilian Protestant missionary at the Indian post near União. The nearest Brazilian "township" (*município*) of any size is Ponta Porã (1939 population estimated 26,000), some 75 or 100 miles distant over oxcart-worn roads. The population density of Ponta Porã, certainly greater than that of the region about Taquapiri, is given as 0.9 per square kilometer in 1939. Taquapiri was selected from three Cayuá groups visited because it appeared to present better opportunities for study. Its small size, relative compactness, and greater predominance of aboriginal practices recommended it over either of the other two places. In 1943 Taquapiri had about 175 persons, all told. Four months were spent at Taquapiri, several weeks of superficial observations and anthropometric measurements having been made previously in the Cayuá groups at Dourados and União.

The present paper is not an attempt at a complete account of the Cayuá. It is restricted to a study of Cayuá acculturation, primarily as evident at Taquapiri. A separate monograph is being written which will provide as full an account of the culture as a whole as is possible with the field work accomplished. Many points which are considered briefly in this study will thus be treated in greater detail in the monograph. But in order to avoid excessive footnoting, references to the forthcoming monograph will generally be omitted.

Grateful acknowledgement for having been enabled to do this work is made to the Department of State, U. S. A., and the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores of the Brazilian Government, under whose joint sponsorship the writer was the recipient of an Inter-American fellowship. Mr. George T. Colman, then United States Vice-Consul in São Paulo, and Mrs. Colman helped our work in many ways. Thanks and acknowledgement are also due the Museu Nacional of Brazil and its director, D. Heloisa Alberto Torres. With these auspices Brazilian personnel were included and the expedition was made a joint affair. Two young Brazilian field workers, Nelson Teixeira and Eduardo Galvão, accompanied us and col-

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayuá, frequently also called Caingúá, and less frequently Caiowá, Caingá, Caigúá, and other similar designations,⁶ are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the [657] Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, a Brazilian federal agency. All the Cayuá known to the author now live between the great Rio Paraná on the east and the Rio Paraguay to the west; from Rengger's⁷ and other accounts, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of location since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, Cayuá territory was extended farther to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1832-1850.⁸ Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.⁹ This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present [161] Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahí. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreto de Pirapó, Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio¹⁰ in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory thus seems well corroborated.¹¹

*174 501 The Cayuá, or at least certain of them, were apparently canoe Indians until some forty years or so ago—and some groups until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.¹² Sampaio also gives the impression

⁶ Godoi, 1946, refers to a group of "Paingúá" whom he identifies with the Cayuá. There seems little justification for the name he uses. The Paingúá proper were a Guaicurian tribe of the Rio Paraguay. ⁷ Rengger, 1835. ⁸ Von Ihering, 1907, p. 204.

⁹ Von Koenigswald, 1908.

¹⁰ Sampaio, 1890.

¹¹ Godoi, 1946, *passim*, makes a rather weak case for the long tenancy of the "Paingúá," (Cayuá) in the region of Pirassununga, in the state of São Paulo. Very likely there were Tupi-Guarani peoples in the region since early times, and possibly but not necessarily Cayuá or "Paingúá." ¹² Von Koenigswald, 1908, *passim*.

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.¹⁷ This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in São Paulo and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

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What neither von Koenigswald nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apapocuva-Guarani,"¹⁸ close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their congeners to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map¹⁹ published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.²⁰

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NUMBERS

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a census or creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the *matas* or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made.

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Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Caiós":

The Caiós are, according to acceptable information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Ivinheima and in the region between this river and the Iguatemy. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the hinter-

¹⁷ Sampaio, 1890, *passim*.¹⁸ Unkel, 1914.¹⁹ Von Ihering, 1911.²⁰ More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guarani-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Métraux, 1928, and Costa, 1939.

- 13/ lands of the state of Paraná, where they are safer. With them live a small number of Guaranyas.¹⁷

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There is at present, and probably has been for a long time, some interchange of population between the Brazilian and Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distance, but especially among those living near the frontier. A reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá in 1943 would be something between 2,000 and 4,000. Even less is apparently known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá.

WHO ARE THE CAYUÁ?

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Etymologically, it is said that the name "Cayuá" is related to two Guarani stems meaning "forest" (*ka'á*) and "man" or "men" (*a'á*), that is, "men of the forest."¹⁸ If this is the case, the name suits them very well indeed. As far as forest dwellers are concerned, however, the name would not by any means be unsuited to many other Tupi-Guarani peoples as well. As applied specifically to the Cayuá, the name might have grown out of the practice on the part of the Europeans, during Conquest and mission times, to distinguish the "reduced Guarani" (broadly speaking) from those who were not "reduced." The "reduced" Guarani-speaking peoples, who lived in *reducciones*, were in fairly close contact with the Europeans. They had early been brought to some sort of terms with the whites, either of pionage (in the *encomienda*) or of religious proselytism, in the latter case largely through the efforts of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The "non-reduced" speakers of Guarani, on the other hand, had no fixed relationship with the Europeans other than, for the most part, avoidance. They lived in the less accessible forests, originally because these had been their home; subsequently they also sought out remote forests in order to avoid the Europeans. Hence, using a word in one of the native Guarani languages, the invaders might well have called them "Cayuá" or "men of the forests."¹⁹ This distinction, from which their present name allegedly derives, is particularly significant in considering the acculturation of the Cayuá.

Culturally, the Cayuá shared a great deal with their Tupi-Guarani linguistic relatives. This similarity was generally recognized to such an extent, concerning the people closest to them, the so-called "Guarani" of Paraguay

¹⁷ *Expedição sobre o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, 1911. Information kindly provided by Dr. Herbert Baldus, São Paulo, by letter.

¹⁸ Watson, J. B., 1943, p. 3, fn.; p. 10, fn. 11.

¹⁹ In the English translation of Dobrzhoffer, 1822, the original Latin expression which the author uses to refer to the non-reduced speakers of Guarani is translated as "woods Indians." Dobrzhoffer dwells considerably upon the point of the close attachment of the Guarani peoples of the Paraguay region to their forest habitat in contrast both to the open-country dwelling Abipones and other equestrian Indians, and to the reduced Guarani. The latter the Jesuits apparently always sought to bring, at the cost of some perseverance, to missions established in open places.

and ancient Guayra,²⁰ that most early writers appear to have thought it unnecessary to comment specifically upon the manners of any of the groups which they vaguely designated as "Cayua." They assumed that virtual cultural and linguistic identity existed among all of the Guarani-speaking peoples of the region. It is stated by early chroniclers that the Guarani-speaking Indians were divided into numerous, small local groups. These groups were said to take as designations the names of their particular band chiefs (?) or of the places where they lived. Other than that, it was held, there was nothing to distinguish one group from another, nor hence, "Cayua" groups from "Guarani" groups. But after the European entry the two terms became fixed and they gradually acquired what was, in effect, acculturational significance. That is, "Cayua" referred to Indians much less in contact with the whites than "Guarani."

Métraux,²¹ and Klieme and Milke,²² who statistically analyze Métraux's material, seem to feel that there were more than likely some cultural differences, not only among the various coastal Tupi groups of central and northern Brazil and the southern linguistic affiliates, but also among so-called Guarani and Cayua groups themselves. The actual picture is considerably obscured by several conditions. In the first place, contemporary writers of the earliest period of contact, as has been pointed out, tended to lump all the "Guarani" together. To them there was no particular cultural and linguistic distinction, even between "Guarani" of the south and "Tupi" of the coast and the north. (Indeed, the facts of European colonial politics and political geography largely serve to explain the different names given, not any actual appreciation by early writers of existing cultural differences.) In the second place, the early accounts of the different sections of the Tupi-Guarani family are not all from the same period. Thus some of the differences which are apparent to present-day readers of the literature may be a reflection of the different times at which the accounts were written. Whatever the real differences, the appearance of impressive similarities of culture and language, over large distances or long periods of time, among the Cayua and other Tupi-Guarani peoples cannot be denied. It is likely, when the ultimate connections and migrations of the Tupi-Guarani have been worked out, that the Cayua will be seen to have migrated to their present southern position, along with other related groups, from somewhere much closer to equatorial Brazil than their habitat during the last five or more centuries. This would go far toward explaining the marked cultural similarities which have so impressed both early and contemporary writers. But it would not deny the possibility of significant differences among Guarani-speakers at the time of the Conquest.

²⁰ The territory today roughly comprised by the Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina.

²¹ Métraux, 1928.

²² Klieme and Milke, 1935.

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay. 175* 648

Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.²² They used the indigenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indigenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a certain piece of territory and the inhabitants thereof to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent. 174* 175* 648

Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.²³ Whatever and wherever the

²² The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guarani, and Lothrop, 1932 finds that the archeology bears this out. 174* 131* 648

²³ The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in living between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassable. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the threat of Mbayá and Spanish movements.)

[footnote continues on p. 46 bottom]

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Cayua of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

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The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayua. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayua were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayua this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayua was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1610 TO 1708

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The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.⁴⁴ It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.⁴⁵

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Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slavers known as *mamelucos* or *paulistas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

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Still another point favoring Cayua seclusion from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayua region. The frontier remained undecided actually until the Paraguayan War, 1865-1870.

⁴⁴ The number of years credited to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does them justice since the conventional beginning date, 1610, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually emphasized came about.

⁴⁵ The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit controversy and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans wrote less about their work. The impressive propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem as much as anything responsible for the extensive literature regarding their Paraguayan enterprise.

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177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
 178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
 197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
 361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
 speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.
 361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
 located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
 [101] Brazilian settlements of Uniflo and Nhu Verã, about two leagues
 from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
 [161] counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
 [628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
 as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaf, Iguassuf,
 178 Ipeum, and Pirajuf. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
 433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
 the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
 traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
 Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
 gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
 • 131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
 423 becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
 648 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
 [175] tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
 plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
 174 territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
 177 the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
 412 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
 313 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
 forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

THE GUARANI

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guarani* (map 1, No. 1; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guarani* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guarani* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guarani* as if they were separate entities. The *Guarani* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guarani*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guarani* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingú*.

Guarani of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guarani* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guarani* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guarani* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guarani groups, called by the early chroniclers "*Guarani de las islas*," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Rio de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.). There were some *Guarani* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lázaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guarani* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charras* and the bulk of the *Guarani* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

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175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

[361] Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin*; on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba*. Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang*, or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí*, were scattered among the *Guaraní*.

[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin*, were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú*, a Chaco tribe.

101 Modern *Guaraní* tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingú* (*Kaa-thuna*, *Kaingua*, *Cayú*, *Monteses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

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175 About 1800, the *Caingú* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemi River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejui-guarú (Jejui) and the Aguaray-guarú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Caingú* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

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175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayana* should not be confused with the ancient

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

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Modern *Caingú* (*Caigú*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbuihá*, *Ava-mbiká*, *Caaygú*, *Apyteré*, *Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°-27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Caingú*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejui-guarú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocá River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°-56° W.).

(3) The *Pañ'* (*Terenohé*), who live north of the Jejui-guarú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guarani* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Caingú* or *Guarani* in Brazil. The *Apapocua* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Caingú* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemi River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemi River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Taíyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemi River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

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The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

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The other *Caingú* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Chirirú*,¹ near the mouth of the Iguatemi; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguacu*, on the Curupayná River (Mato Grosso); the *Yytyigú*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduba Jatahy*, in the same State.

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The *Apapocua*, *Taíyguá*, *Oguauíva*, and *Chirirú* are regarded as *Guarani* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguacu*, *Yytyigú*, *Avachiripá*, and

¹ There are also *Chirirú* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

101 *Caingú* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caingú*
 131 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaporé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notoboto-*
 [300] *cudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
 on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24°
 [178] S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
 [241] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Caingú* groups are in constant contact with the
 [178] *Mestizos* and *Whites*, and many *Caingú* work as peons in the *estancias*,
 [464] in the *maté* or *lumber camps*. With the earned money they buy clothes,
 [432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
 [341] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still culti-
 vate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total
 number of the Brazilian *Caingú* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmen-
 tary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descend-
 ants, the numerous *Caingú* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
 [171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to
 be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
 114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Her-
 nández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruiz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista
 espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañía de Jesús" (1927-29).
 Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873-75), who often have been
 regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of
 their data from Jesuit reports (*Cartas anuas*).

The earliest description of the *Caingú* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874).
 Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be
 used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century
 and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent
 times have contributed good information on the material culture of the
 Paraguayan *Caingú*. On the *Cayú* of Southern Brazil, we have a
 monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on
 the modern *Guaraní*, or *Caingú*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914
 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocua-Guaraní*, and a series
 of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934-35) on the Paraguayan *Caingú*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete
 modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions.
 Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754)
 "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises
 on life in the missions.

HISTORIC INFLUENCES AND CHANGE IN THE
ECONOMY OF A SOUTHERN MATO
GROSSO TRIBE *

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Location

The Cayuá are a Guarani-speaking people of southwestern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various *postos* and *reservas* of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, a federal agency. All the Cayuá area now lies between the great Rio Parana and the Rio Paraguay (see map), and Rengger's account ¹ indicates that this area has been their traditional location since well over a hundred years ago. Shortly after Rengger's Paraguayan sojourn (1818-1826), however, the Cayuá territory seems to have been extended farther to the north and to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von Ihering, at least, affirms that this move-

* Between the months of July and November, 1913, the writer and his wife, in company with two students from the anthropological staff of the Museu Nacional of Brazil at Rio de Janeiro, studied the life — largely the economic aspects — of a group of Cayuá (also written Caiguá, Caingá, Caingú, Calowa, Cayowá, Kaaiwá, Kaingá, Kaingú, etc.) in the south of the state of Mato Grosso, almost on the Paraguayan frontier. This field work was in collaboration with the Museu Nacional and under the sponsorship of Dona Heloisa Alberto Torres, the director of that notable Brazilian institution. The writer was enabled to participate through a fellowship grant of the Divisão de Cooperação Intelectual of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, and a very great debt is acknowledged for the assistance and cooperation of both of these organs of the Brazilian federal government as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which admirably cooperated with us in the field.

¹ Rengger, Dr. J. B., *Reise nach Paraguay, in den Jahren 1818 bis 1826* (aus den Verfassers handschriftlichen Nachlass herausgegeben von A. Rengger) (Assen, 1833).

[p. 3]

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ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.² Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.³ This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahi. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio⁴ in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.⁵ Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.⁶ Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

² Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. vii, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

³ Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuá", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. xviii, no. 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

⁴ Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográficas e Econômicas sobre o Vale do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim da Comissão Geográfica e Geológica do Estado de São Paulo*, no. 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ *Op. cit.*

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-131 and Paraná before 1890. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayua of Brazil, especially the Rio
Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map⁷ published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayua remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayua
[657] have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (hereinafter to be referred to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayua live scattered in the *mata* or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayua, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayua than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayua would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayua economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] ⁷ Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

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decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz da la Sierra."

In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migration which does not appear to have any relation to that of García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this great ethnic movement: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer, with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guaraní Indians who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood. The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guaraní were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guaraní Indian, married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guaraní race, had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/ knew the roads which led there." The Guaraní was invited to accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guaraní, originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River; that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text continues on p. 41]

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2,000 to 3,000 Indians "who left their fatherland to go to settle in foreign territory... When these Indians arrived at a place 30 leagues from Santa Cruz de la Sierra, they settled there and called it Itatin, thus alluding to their native province. They stayed there and immediately began to sow." (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 207)

Some years later these same Itatin assassinated Nufrio de Chaves, who had come to their villages to accompany Felipe de Carceres and the Bishop of Asunción, Francisco Pedro de la Torre, who was going back to Paraguay. It is strange that these Indians killed the man who had made them change their fatherland and found a new nation between Xaray /322/ and Santa Cruz. Some say that this murder had revenge as its motive; others, the violence of Nufrio de Chaves, who addressed severe admonitions to the caciques. However that may be, the Spanish avenged the death of this conquistador by massacring guilty and innocent with their usual ferocity when a weaker people was concerned. On the return trip, Carceres and his band had to fight the Itatin of Paraguay, who harassed him and often put them in a difficult situation. (See Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 207-215; Groussac, pp. 294-314 and Gandía, 2, pp. 134-140.)

It was the Spanish then who transplanted the Itatin to Bolivia. It is not impossible that several Guarani groups were already established in the country, having come either from Paraguay or from regions occupied by the Chiriguano.

The recent date of the settlement of the Itatin between the San Miguel River and the Blanco River explains a passage from an Annua littera (see Métraux, 5, p. 918) of 1589 where allusion is made to the pain of a woman who dies without avenging herself for the slap she had received from a Spaniard 20 years before in Paraguay. That takes us back more or less to the year of Nufrio de Chaves' trip to Peru, thus to 1564. If the Itatin followed the Spaniards willingly, it is because the previous migrations of the Guarani had familiarized them with these regions and made them consider such an expedition as an easy and normal thing. By accompanying the Spaniards they were imitating their neighbors and going near their relatives.

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The archeological arguments of those who believe in a vast extension of the Guarani into Argentina rest on the occurrence of burials of adults in urns in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy. Recently I conducted excavations in several pre-Hispanic cemeteries of this region (Candelaria department, Salta prov.), and I was able to satisfy myself that the peoples who left us these great necropolises had nothing in common with the Chiriguano from a cultural and anthropological point of view. The funerary urns I brought to light are entirely different from those of the ancient Guarani, and the funerary furnishings include no piece which could be attributed either closely or distantly to the Guarani.

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Burials of adults in urns is not in any way characteristic of the culture of the Tupi-Guarani Indians, and, I might say, even the opposite. Already in 1905 Outes (1) in a very well-documented monograph had proved that the cemeteries of Rosario de Lerma and San Pedro de Jujuy, which Boman (1) considered as Guarani, in no way constituted proofs of a Guarani migration into northwestern Argentina. Nordenskiöld (10, pp. 184-189) and myself (Métraux, 2; pp. 271-276) have resumed study of this question, and our results entirely confirm those of Outes (1). Therefore, as much from the historic as from the ethnographic point of view, boundaries other than the ones I have indicated could not be assigned to the ancient Chiriguano.